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ABSTRACT

Four United States universities, one from each American state having a common boundary with Mexico, organized the Border-State University Consortium for Latin America. The organization emerged as an attempt to focus collectively on problems and situations immediately accessible for study in a series of publications entitled "Occasional Papers." This document contains 2 contributions to literature. The first contribution, as indicated by the title "Comparative Structures and Attitudes Along the U.S.-Mexico Border," is a comparison of social structures and attitudes from 2 distinct nationality groups. The second contribution, "Trends and Problems of Urbanization in the United States-Mexico Border Area," is the study of the patterns of internal migration and economic development in Latin American countries as related to the United States-Mexico border area. Included are bibliographies related to each paper. (EJ)

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COMPARATIVE U.S.-MEXICO BORDER STUDIES

Ellwyn R. Stoddard

Editor

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FOREWORD

In 1969, four U.S. Universities, one from each American state having a common boundary with Mexico, organized the BORDER-STATE UNIVERSITY CONSORTIUM FOR LATIN AMERICA. This organization emerged as an attempt to focus collectively on problems and situations which these institutions find immediately accessible for study. The representatives soon saw a need for distributing scientific knowledge and information among not only its own institutional scholars, but also those in other Latin American programs in the U.S. and Latin American scholars abroad. The result was this series of OCCASIONAL PAPERS which under present plans will be published from two to four times per year, depending upon qualified manuscripts available. It is appropriate that this first volume of OCCASIONAL PAPERS deals with the subject of comparative studies along the Borderland area of the U.S. and Mexico. Although the papers contained herein were originally prepared in the Spring of 1968 for the Conference on Urbanization of the U.S.-Mexico Border, their recent updating, expansion and revision especially for this volume makes their contribution valuable in terms of both content and timeliness.

The Stoddard essay summarized various perspectives of what constitutes the "Border region" and offers a brief examination of the role of comparative studies in cross-cultural research. The four major areas of political structure, disaster relief, legal enforcement problems, and self-identity illustrate scientific research as reflected by social structures and attitudes on each side of the U.S.-Mexico border. The Cárdenas paper extends the foregoing analysis into the area of population and labor trends along the border, with the subsequent problems of community and economic growth, and public service difficulties resulting therefrom. Thus, within these two papers a broad perspective of U.S.-Mexico border problems and the role played by cultural differences are laid open to inquiry and analysis. The extensive citation of published and unpublished sources will provide scholars of borderland areas with a generous sample of available materials in selected content areas.

Where possible, each volume will contain two or more papers relating to a common subject area. OCCASIONAL PAPERS will concentrate on significant problems, handled in a professional manner, which cannot be handled adequately within the space limitations of most journal articles and which lack the manuscript length to be published as a separate monograph. Interested scholars may consult the "Instructions for Contributors" at the bottom of page iv for detailed information regarding manuscripts. Although authors from Consortium-related institutions are especially encouraged to submit their work for possible publication, manuscripts are solicited from all scholars who are conducting research related to the U.S.-Mexico border area.

E. R. Stoddard
Coordinating Editor
University of Texas at El Paso
April, 1970

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Grateful appreciation is extended to the directorship of the Border-State University Consortium for their interest in promoting the OCCASIONAL PAPERS series and to the authors for their scholarly contributions. A note of gratitude is due to Miss Kathy Renner of the Sociology Department for her able research assistance, and to Mrs. Fred Lunenfeld and the staff of the Inter-American Institute for their help in proofing and preparing the materials for publishing. Final proofreading was done by Sharon Kha. The cover was designed by Winfrey Hearst and the cover photographs were taken by Chester Christian. Only with such unselfish dedication can such a venture become a reality.

* *

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COMPARATIVE STRUCTURES AND ATTITUDES ALONG THE U.S.-MEXICO BORDER*

Ellwyn R. Stoddard
Professor of Sociology

University of Texas at El Paso
April, 1970

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*A revised and expanded version of an invitational paper presented at the Conference on Urbanization of the U.S.-Mexican Border, El Paso, Texas, June 15, 1968.

COMPARATIVE STRUCTURES AND ATTITUDES ALONG THE U.S.-MEXICO BORDER

Ellwyn R. Stoddard

If social scientists wish to use the U.S.-Mexican Border region as a laboratory for the comparative studies of human behavior, the various dimensions of the term "U.S.-Mexican Border" must be defined, the criteria made explicit, and the generalizations concluded from one dimension must not be indiscriminately applied to a dissimilar situation.

As a <u>geographical region</u> it comprises the political entities of Mexico and the United States as a contiguous land area from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. Within this context the Border region is theoretically presented as two separate political-economic-language systems in juxtaposition along an extended, common national boundary.

The border region can be conceptualized as a <u>legal-political</u> entity made up of those political units having a common boundary which must maintain legal regulations. This would include the tier of states in both the U.S. and Mexico whose boundary is also the international border. In the U.S. this would comprise the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. In Mexico, it would include the states of Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León and Tamaulipas. These political entities have the major legal responsibility for maintaining their own law and order in the face of international operations which are controlled by national governments. Although the operation of border crossing and customs and immigration are officially prescribed on a national level, the tourists and commuting workers themselves are handled by state political and legal machinery in cooperation with local law enforcement officials in the border cities with local variations in national policy.

Another approach to the Border region is to regard it as a single entity of its own, a separate <u>cultural milieu</u>--differing from both the United States and Mexico in its heritage, traditions and social

structures (not to mention its language--Border Spanish).[1] Some experts view this as a dynamic process of assimilation of Anglo and Mexican peoples and heritage. Others point out that the maintenance in perpetua of the traditional Anglo superiority-Mexican inferiority relationship is a necessary component of the Border culture. Still other scholars see this unique cultural milieu as a medium for cultural pluralism--a place where art forms, music, literary contributions and the like might be spawned, practiced or enjoyed on an equalitarian basis.

An expanded and tangential definition of the U.S.-Mexican Border focuses on the Mexican-American people regardless of their present location as a synonym of Border life. Thus problems of Border peoples might include the Mexican American-Anglo relations in the Denver public schools; or the ecological distribution of Spanish Speaking groups in Los Angeles slums. They might deal with Texas migrant families picking tomatoes or cherries in Michigan, or Idaho sugar beets and potatoes or they might deal with minority population in the barrios of San Antonio, Texas and still be considered "Border-connected" problems.

A further dimension to research involving the U.S.-Mexican Border peoples is the distinct historical antecendents of many of the contemporary border communities and cultural groups who are often mistakenly placed in a single historical category--foreign immigrants. Some of our Mexican-American hamlets along the Rio Grande are older than the independence of the Republic of Texas by more than two centuries. The Anglo westward colonization of this country is to them "recent history". The accidental settlement site for a family along the Rio Grande gave one family Mexican citizenship and their friends on the opposite bank American citizenship, the latter by a declaration in a strange tongue and a foreign political allegiance. Some early Spanish-American

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[1] A recent compilation of papers dealing with the socio-linguistics of the Borderland area includes many papers specifically treating the non-standard lexicon of "Border Spanish." (See Ewton and Ornstein, 1970, especially Chapters 5, 7, and 11.)

settlements with community property rights conferred by Spanish land grants were destroyed by Anglo-Saxon legal codes, and the disenfranchised landholders were relocated in highly undesirable, unproductive land. Still other towns were formed by a steady immigration (both legal and illegal) of Mexican citizens, from whence the second generation could relocate to interior cities with the dream of steady work and economic independence. Even the atypical tribal groups, the Tigua Indians of Ysleta, Texas and the Yaqui Indians of southern Arizona are rare "cultural islands" constituting the Border region.

Various theoretical and methodological orientations used to conceptualize the properties of the Border culture might be considered other dimensions in the study of border-related peoples. There are atomistic (micro-structure) vs holistic (National Character) comparisons, synchronic (contemporary comparisons) vs diachronic (extended temporal) research designs or studies emphasizing the static traditional elements of the region as opposed to research emphasizing the changing nature of the area. Many arguments among Border experts arise from attempts to interpolate their findings from one field of research to another without regard for these theoretical and methodological distinctions. Furthermore, the level of social analysis-whether it be the interpersonal dyad, family institution or the complex national structure--and the emphasis upon the formal structure as contrasted to the informal structures operating within the system, will need to be considered prior to a synthesis of empirical Border research.

In summary, certain limited types of analysis correctly regard the U.S.-Mexican Border as a distinct homogeneous region. However, in a precise and objective study of social structures and values it must be considered a conglomerate of social and cultural strains having vastly different historical antecedents, traditions and conceptions of self-identity. These differences are lightly veiled by a thin veneer of shared cultural traditions historically accumulated in the consensual experience of day-to-day living in the complex Border milieu.

Historical Antecedents of Current Border Research

The border region *per se* initially was ignored by the earliest social scientists (enthologists) who bypassed the "adulterated" Border communities for the "pure" primitive Mexican villages in the interior, uncluttered by modern civilization and Western culture.[2] Not until World War II and the decade which followed did individual social scientists (predominately sociologists) make sporadic inter-cultural studies of the peoples in the Southwest and along the Border.[3] When in 1950 the U.S. Bureau of the Census issued separate tables of Spanish Surname population characteristics, many valuable demographic studies were published[4] for the United States side of the border although extensive data for the Mexican peoples on the other side of the national border are still lacking. Spanish Surname studies were of immediate utility in laying the groundwork for subsequent Border projects. However, these same demographic profiles, weighted by the heavy population concentrations of low class residents, reinforced the sterotype of the poor, uneducated, diseased and fertile Mexican-American rural peoples without emphasizing the achievement of urban Mexican-Americans, especially those of the younger generation. But these demographic sources are too vast to be treated within this paper except for tangential references where applicable. Such an arbitrary exclusion should not be interpreted as negating the importance of their contribution toward a more comprehensive view of the Border region and the characteristics of its peoples but simply a limitation of problem scope dictated by time, energy and related resources.

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[2]Among some of the more notable studies of this type were Redfield, 1930 and 1941; Lewis, 1951.

[3]Examples of these are Zeleny, 1944; Simmons, 1952; and Saunders, 1954.

[4]Prior to the 1950 Census designation of Spanish Surname, the main foci for studies dealing with the Mexican-American, population were immigration and nationality trends. (An example is Alvarez, 1966). Following the establishment of the Spanish Surname census category, many excellent demographic and population analyses emerged. (See Talbert, 1955; Beegle, *et al.*, 1960; and Browning and McLemore, 1964). A paperback monograph by Heller (1966) was based heavily upon Spanish Surnamed materials presented in a readable, unsophisticated form.

In 1954, the first specific scientific project exclusively designed for the study of the U.S.-Mexican Border was outlined by Charles P. Loomis and funded by the Carnegie Corporation.[5] Various studies initiated by that project and relevant to comparative border analysis will be cited throughout this essay. Their termination of that project cooled any coordinated border research for more than a decade. Even at present, the half-dozen major Latin-American Institutes which dominate Latin-American cross-cultural studies[6] and the many less sophisticated programs incorporating Inter-American studies are, for the most part, largely ignoring the Borderland area as its central focus.[7] It is within this void that in 1969 a newly organized Border-State University Consortium for Latin America (which is the sponsor for these OCCASSIONAL PAPERS) was organized with the desire to concentrate efforts of scholars from various disciplines to the specific area of the U.S.-Mexico border region. Since it is often difficult to equate the concerns of the physical borderland region with those of the Mexican-American peoples who are a product of the border region,

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[5]A detailed outline of the project proposal indicates the comparative nature of the research program (Loomis, 1954). For a recent review of this border concentration and some of the results see Loomis et. al., (1966), especially the section dealing with "Related Research and Dissertation."

[6]As measured by foundation grants, fellowships, and related expenditures, some of the leading Latin American Institutes include those at the University of California (Berkeley), Colombia University, University of Texas at Austin, University of Florida and the University of Wisconsin.

[7]With the possible exception of the University of Texas at Austin, those schools with very strong Latin American Institutes are not those principally engaged in Border-related research programs. Foremost among those concentrating on Border peoples has been U.C.L.A. with a dozen Advanced Reports publishing various aspects of demographic and institutuional data of the Mexican-American minority in the U.S. Less ambitious efforts to promote border research have occurred at the University of Texas at El Paso, Texas A & M, Notre Dame, and San Diego State.
The newly formed Border-State University Consortium formed in 1969 comprised by four Universities, one from each border state, will give the most direct thrust to exploiting border-connected research within their state. This effort will not be entirely visible for some time, but its purposes and cooperative articulation of research and communication hold high promise.

it will be crucial to arrange the materials to be examined in some systematic form for future use by all serious Border scholars. The necessity for dissemination of borderland materials and information among the various interested scholars for a cross-fertilization of ideas is also evident to the heretofore isolated individual borderland scholars.

The Comparative Method Approach

The comparison of social structures and attitudes from two distinct nationality groups such as the American and Mexican is neither novel nor is it revolutionary. It is but the extension of the comparative method pioneered by the social anthropologist coupled with the latest refined instruments and procedures of modern sociology. Radcliffe-Brown, generally regarded as the precursor of present comparative studies in social anthropology and sociology wrote:

> It is only by the use of the comparative method that we can arrive at general explanations. The alternative is to confine ourselves to particularistic explanations similar to those of the historian. The two kinds of explanations are both legitimate and do not conflict; but both are needed for the understanding of societies and their institutions. (1952:113-114)

Durkheim, the father of modern scientific sociology, further clarified this as follows:

> Comparative sociology is not a particular branch of sociology; it is sociology itself, insofar as it ceases to be purely descriptive and aspires to account for facts. (1938:139)

A recent writer in comparative sociology suggests that the Radcliffe-Brown approach, dominant from post World War I to about 1950, is now being challenged by a newer structural school which emphasizes the comparison of logically deduced models of distinct societies rather than the comparison of content culture per se. Previous methodological battles between approaches--"trait" vs

"holistic" advocates--seem to be ignored by the possibilities of a merger of computer science with typological models reflecting quantitative indices. (Marsh, 1967:24-28 and Chapter 2; Appendices I and II: 329-374)

Apart from any scientific contribution to be made from comparative studies, Kluckhohn suggests it as a necessary training device for the emerging scientist himself. He suggested that the studying of societies other than our own

> enables us to see ourselves better. Ordinarily we are unaware of the special lens through which we look at life. . ...students who have not gone beyond the horizon of their own society could not be expected to perceive custom which was the stuff of their own thinking. The scientist of human affairs needs to know as much about the eye that sees as the object seen. Anthropology holds up a great mirror to man and lets him look at himself in his infinite variety. (Kluckhohn, 1949:16)

Although this emphasis was recommended by Kluckhohn for the study of primitive societies, his work at Harvard is carried on by the Values Research Institute, dedicating itself to comparisons of contemporary cultures in the tradition of its founder (Kluckhohn, & Stodtbeck, 1961). This approach can be fruitful if applied to the border region as a natural laboratory (Stoddard, 1969b), for comparing human behavior resulting from distinct cultural settings. To demonstrate the utility of such comparative studies, this essay will briefly discuss ongoing border-connected research in four major content areas. These are: (1) Political Structure and Urbanization; (2) Disaster Relief; (3) Law Enforcement; and (4) Self-Identity Studies. The materials selected demonstrate a sociological bias reflected by the author's familiarity with the work done within that discipline. Some deference was given to materials of most recent vintage, of scientific clarity and rigor of design, and that of significant interest to stimulate scholars toward more investigation of social phenomena related to the borderland area.

Political Structure and Urbanization

A cross-national classic in Border studies is the D'Antonio and Form (1965) analysis of the power elite in El Paso, Texas, compared to those in its sister city of Ciudad Juárez, México.[8] The authors conclude that the Mexican city reflects a more monolithic, centrally controlled power structure than does the U.S. community, although the authors carefully pointed out that it is less monolithic than they had initially hypothesized. No civic program in Cd. Juárez is initiated nor legitimated with any degree of success without the implicit or explicit sanctions from officials in charge of governmental resources. In contrast, El Paso reflects a more diffuse economic and social structure with its myriad of formal and informal systems. Extra-legal organizations may initiate, legitimate and very often complete many programs of social or community betterment wholly without reliance on the formal resources of government.

The influentials who operate within these two structures across national boundaries differ equally as much as the structure in which they operate. The Cd. Juárez elite are usually educated in the U.S., can speak English well, and are generally very knowledgeable regarding the source of Mexican-U.S. linkages with a very objective view of this relationship. The El Paso influentials do not look to Mexico for any of their values, intellectual challenges nor ideas, but rather have "worked out a modus vivendi with the city /Cd. Juárez/ but had not internalized much of the Mexican culture" (D'Antonio and Form, 1965:218-219). The U.S. influentials as reflected by the Border city officials were ethnocentric and generally not sophisticated in both Anglo and Mexican values. Hence, when interaction across the Border occurs within this political context, not only must the Mexican

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[8]For related studies of power and decision-making in other Mexican cities see Klapp and Padget (1960) and Graham (1968).

assume a deferent position because of the economic and techonological superiority of the United States but also because of the inability of the American influentials to understand the social institutions or cultural values of any society other than their own. If these conclusions are valid, it appears that the vast majority of "Cultural Understanding" weeks and "Good Neighbor" programs are conducted as a facade to conceal the social and cultural processes actually operating across the Border which Americans do not understand and are even less concerned about; while their Mexican counterparts accept the superficial show with tongue-in-cheek, understanding the Anglo's necessity for self-deception better even than the Anglo influential understands it himself. This disclosure could provide a clue for the failure of many so-called "multi-lateral" assistance projects sponsored by the United States and unilaterally carried out among our Latin American neighbors.

Problems of urbanization on both sides of the political boundary appear to be strikingly similar. This is probably due to the common dysfunctions of rapid population increases, urban congestion, poverty in the slum areas, and the difficulties of providing the growing suburbs with the necessary utilities and institutional services. These problems resulting from rapid population increases and urbanization of the Border municipios are discussed in greater detail by Cárdenas in the concluding article of this volume.

Urban deterioration and planning problems in the U.S. and Latin American cities follow distinctly different patterns. Whereas the deterioration of American cities tends to follow the zones of transition in the central city, Latin American cities have immense slums developing on the periphery of the city called jacales, villas miserias, colonias, or barrios marginales.[9] Since the basic function of the

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[9]Perhaps the most encompassing and well documented source of problems dealing with "marginal suburbs", both those in the city centers and especially those surrounding urban metropoli in Latin America is Morse (1965). The most current and carefully researched analysis of a U.S.-Mexico border community and the problem of "marginal surburban" pathologies is a recently completed thesis concerned with the city of Juárez (Valencia, 1969).

city itself in Latin America has a far different history than that of the U.S., the patterning of slums would likewise be expected to vary a great deal. Western European cities were a movement of economic energies away from extractive pursuits toward those of processing and distribution whereas the Latin American metropolis is the source of energy and organization for the exploitation of natural resources. (Morse, 1962:474) In addition, Cárdenas (1963) has pointed out the limited power arrangement of the Mexican municipio being an extended organ of the state political system (compare Poggie and Miller, 1969:174) in contrast to the relative independence and self-initiative characteristic of the American city. It is quite obvious that programs designed specifically to assist the American city ignore these basic structural and functional differences and are less applicable to the problems of the Mexican municipio. It is ironic that U.S.-sponsored development programs with the underlying philosophy of U.S. municipal administration might actually force the Mexican urban areas to mirror their U.S. counterparts, thereby divorcing themselves from their Mexican coordination sources and creating a greater political vacuum than before. To assume that the plight of Mexican border cities is only the lack of economic resources to carry out urban change of the U.S. urban renewal, model cities, central cities-type is a fallacy. It might well be a fallacy as applied to our U.S. city regeneration programs as well, but time will tell more as to the strengths and weaknesses of a purely economic approach to poverty and decadence.

Now turning to political studies concentrating on inter-cultural relations on one side of the Border, the focus will be on the acculturation process and the immigrant adjusting to the bureaucratic structures of our urban institutions. A comparison of second generation Mexican-Americans in the U.S. with recent arrivals from Mexico showed an amazing difference in their rate of participation in these formal structures. The newly arrived immigrant perceives the process of involvement with formal organizations as an attempt by the middle class Anglo majority to manipulate him. (Barbosa-DaSilva, 1968 and 1966) Not only is his familiarity with the informal kinship system not conducive to launching into personal involvement with formal organizations

in the U.S. (Francesca, 1958), but his residential segregation is a powerful exclusion factor also. (Officer, 1964) This is true of governmental agencies as well as traditional voluntary organizations, among them the formal school system. Formal education is not overly attractive to Mexican-American students (Carter, 1970) who have previously been acculturated to goals other than occupational mobility, financial success and status-striving behavior. Because of initial deficiency in English language skills, their basis of competition is not suited to their innate abilities. Moreover, teacher stereotypes and low expectations toward the performance of Mexican American students results in a "self-fulfilling prophecy" of defeat and failure. (Tafoya, 1969; see also Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968) Various studies conclude that within this formalized, impersonal system there is a lack of design for eliciting the psychological readiness and activating the latent educational aspirations of this cultural minority. This in turn acts as a negative deterrent for occupational aspirations toward higher educational,[10] economic and socially rewarding positions within the larger society. (Cordoba, 1969) Further studies dealing with Mexican-American social mobility indicate that the shedding of lower class traits, not the relinquishing of traditional Catholicism and its corresponding ethnic values, was most directly related to successful upward mobility (Penalosa and McDonagh, 1966). Implicit within these conclusions is that programs aimed at elevating the Mexican-American minority to a higher socio-economic level are more effective with second generation Mexican-Americans who have been more closely integrated with the functions of formal organizations through the educational process.

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[10] In neutralizing negative educational orientations of Mexican-American pupils, both the High School Equivalency program (Tafoya, 1969) and Upward Bound projects (Billings, 1968) have reported favorable results. In the economic and occupational training sphere, there has been a tendency to equate length of U.S. residence and familiarity with the system as the major determinant of economic potential. Actually, an analysis of census data by Browning and McLemore (1964:65) shows that a Mexican-American with both native-born parents has a lower income than one with either one native and one foreign-born, or both parents foreign-born. The longer the residence, the less economic opportunities available. This, then, should be the most immediate area of concern for social action planning.

However, even those who understand formal organization are somewhat bound to heritage and language loyalities for social approval from their Mexican-American friends and relatives. This is usually interpreted by Anglo-Americans as a personal stubborness to learn English and American behavior patterns. These programs might accomplish their purposes more effectively without assaulting the Mexican-American's ethnic traditions, including their desire to preserve their Spanish language. Within this context, suggested programs for dual language training in primary grades to familiarize the student with U.S. social structure from the relative safety of his own language seems a feasible program. (See Brooks, 1968)

There is inherent danger in stripping an immigrant group of their old values to dress them in the ideals of their new country of residence. If the delicate attachments with the past familiar culture are forceably disconnected to insure a more rapid socialization into the prevailing U.S. patterns, two potential problem areas emerge. First, the chief socialization agent to accomplish these changes will be the educational institution which is not geared to operate according to the traditional Mexican kinship standards. Reactions against the socialization process by Mexican-American youth are misinterpreted by teachers, administratiors and counsellors untrained in cross-cultural value orientations.[11] To them, the Mexican-American nonconformist reflects "gang behavior" whereas the Anglo youth is merely experimenting with adult values. The second problem is much more serious and may become deadly to the entire system if not recognized. The presence of a strong Mexican cultural tradition allows the Mexican-American a familiar base of operations, complete with rules which he understands and with rewarding personal associations to which he is accustomed. When and if this traditional culture is placed off limits

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[11]The need for such cross-cultural value training is clearly outlined in Browning and McLemore (1964:64). Ramírez (1969) reports some successful projects undertaken in California to make teachers aware of their own cultural biases as well as having a better comprehension of how the cultural values of their minority group children cause them to react differently than expected within middle class society.

without his having mastered the new roles and standards within the American system, he is caught in the frustration of anomie--unable to retreat and without the social skills to move ahead and compete in the recently joined Anglo-dominated society. Without the stabilizing background culture, a break with the past calls for desperate measures. Without any culture to risk losing, open rebellion, revolt, and violence seems a welcome alternative to the continued emotional isolation of anomie. Violence in our American society appears to have occurred among those who adopted our culture but were restrained from gaining the benefits from it.[12] The lack of violence among Mexican-American groups might well be the risk of losing even their present culture if activist protest fails. If the pattern reflected by the news media is correct--i.e. that Mexican-American "ghetto" youth in larger metropolitan "ghettos" are breaking with the traditional complacency and accommodation procedures of the past--it intimates a trend toward increasing activism in the future. When immediate visible results are not forthcoming and all channels for economic and social mobility appear closed to them, they will be forced to use more extreme methods including violence if they wish to avoid humiliation, to perpetuate their ethnic movement, and to produce the emotional aura supportive of ethnic advancement. Although these militant movements vehemently deny any "anglicization," the very procedures and organization of their protest movement is a repudiation of Mexican docility and a covert adoption of "power politics" as a strategy. Because the movements are emotionally based, and without a strong tradition of bureaucratic skills and formal leadership, there is a great deal of difficulty in trying to form a single formal alliance of power for the entire minority. Also, this single category (Mexican American) represents a great diversity of background cultures, socio-economic levels,

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[12]Violence surrounding the Spanish Land Grant "Alianza" movement in Northern New Mexico was caused by factors distinct from those affecting urban Mexican-Americans in metropolitan slums. The pleas of Reis Tijerina for retribution in settling the "legalized land rape" in Northern New Mexico arise without the pressures of urbanization and increased spatial mobility. For background history on the land grant inequities see Knowlton (1967).

educational and income differentials etc. which does not lend itself to a monolithic union of thrusts toward a single legal, social or economic goal. Their liaison is more maintained by a thin veneer of ethnic pride and tradition than their organizational integration.

A further problem emerges in the organizational struggles for developing and maintaining competent leadership to carry the purposes of the organization to the formal, bureaucratic, Anglo-dominated society. Charismatic type leaders such as Cesar Chávez, Reies Tijerina, and a few others, have developed strong cohesive movements for the short run goals but there has not emerged an abundance of strong, rationally-oriented leaders. A major factor preventing such emergence is illustrated by a research of minority leadership in a bi-cultural community (Watson and Samora, 1954). This study indicated that the emerging Mexican-American leader who reflects the informal procedures and lower class values of his subordinate minority is personally unacceptable in the social world of the Anglo influential. As this ethnic leader becomes more educated, mastering the language, dress and etiquette necessary to operate within the Anglo system, he gains the acceptance of the dominant Anglo leaders. However, becoming accepted by the Anglo power hierarchy is an anathema to his continued acceptance by his ethnic constituency which has felt further and further removed from him with his new "Anglo" attributes. Thus, at the very time when he is able to do the most personal diplomacy for his minority group, he is rejected as their spokesman and is replaced by another rising militant from their midst to begin the cycle over again. Perhaps the greatest hope for their voice in the formal structure of the larger society will occur when the new generation of Mexican-American, educated and sophisticated in the workings of formal government, will band together and will in turn marshal support from informal kinship liaisons to complete the two-step unification process. This alternative offers little encouragement for more permanent solutions to problems through present adult minority leadership and suggests that emotional confrontations with temporary solutions will be the norm for some years to come.

Because of the unique situation of the Border being a perpetual source of Mexican immigrants, the acculturation process will be a perennial problem in Border communities. Moreover, the successes of Mexican immigrants even though sporadic, create one of the major problems on the Mexican side of the Border; the exploding colonias[13] composed of families fleeing from impoverished Mexican hinterlands towards the area of economic and social opportunities--the Border. The greater the contact with U.S. technology, culture and the American way of life, the greater the motivation to migrate toward the Border communities, even with the disease, squalor, oppressive birth rates and lack of utilities and schools. A study of bracero workers exposed for a harvest season to the U.S. illustrates this attitude change. After returning to the lower strata of his peasant village, the bracero pressured his own children to either seek ways to rise to a higher level within the community or to immigrate to the United States in hopes of greater opportunity for social and economic advancement. (Form and Rivera, 1958 and 1959)

Immigrants to the U.S. are from the lower socio-economic levels of Mexico, not from the well-to-do. Even reverse immigration (U.S. citizens who change their citizenship to Mexico) tends to leave the poor and destitute in the U.S. A pilot study of a limited number of citizenship-changers reveals that those persons of Mexican descent changing their U.S. citizenship for that of Mexico are from the social and economic elite classes, who because of family property, business or political opportunity in Mexico will become Mexican citizens to

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[13] In Cd. Juárez these newly arrived immigrants are called "parachutists" (las paracaidistas) because they descend in hoards on the border communities, establishing themselves as squatters and later making purchase arrangement for the land. These colonias have a fantastic population growth rate as pointed out with population data in the Cárdenas paper in this present volume. The hopes of providing them with utilities or educational and health facilities is slim indeed. (Eastlake, 1967)

live in "the other Mexico--the elite class."[14]

In summary, cross-national comparisons demonstrate the dissimilarities in the social and political structures on each side of the national boundary. Moreover, Mexican immigrants acculturated within the informal kinship systems of Mexico are loath to participate in the formal, bureaucratic structures in the U.S. Second generation Mexican-Americans show less problems in dealing with these formalized procedures and to them might be left the decision of which route to follow to gain ascendancy--to enter and manipulate the present Anglo dominated system or to become militant for a form of cultural pluralism. Each approach has its own rewards and its own consequences.

Disaster Relief

The twin border cities of Eagle Pass, Texas, and Piedras Negras in Mexico suffered a devastating Rio Grande flood in 1954. This situation provided an excellent comparative study of behavorial reactions to catastrophe and the role of traditional social structures and dominant values in dealing with the holocaust on both sides of the border. Clifford (1955 and 1958) found that in Piedras Negras there was less integration of formal and informal groups engaged in relief activity inasmuch as the populace depended more upon kinship ties than upon voluntary relief organization for aid. Material goods offered from U.S. relief sources were presented in such a manner as to threaten the dignidad of the Mexican representatives and were habitually refused since acceptance would reflect Mexico's inability to provide for its own people.

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[14]Since formal access to statistics was unavailable, informal interviews with seventeen expatriates of 1966 were obtained through a sociology graduate whose wife is a Mexican citizen and who requested anonymity since he contemplates requesting Mexican citizenship himself in the forseeable future.

In Eagle Pass, not only were the pre-disaster values of operational efficiency and neighborhood or community participation acceptable, but all kinds of assistance from voluntary relief agencies was expected and utilized wherever possible. Such a study points out that relief of any type administered within a cultural context wherein familistic, traditionalistic and informal orientations are dominant is not easily articulated with bureaucratic, efficiency-oriented relief structures. Border emergency relief or simple welfare projects which rely upon American operational procedures will be suspect as illustrated by the reactions above. A subsequent inter-ethnic study regarding the dispensing of disaster relief to Mexican-Americans by Anglo-dominated voluntary organizations showed the reluctance of the minority group to accept Anglo help. (Stoddard, 1961 and 1968) Given the choice, the Mexican-American family would accept inadequate housing and a bare subsistence food ration in the house of a friend or kinfolk rather than assume the dependency role within the Anglo-dominated relief agencies with their well-balanced meals, hospital aid and physical comforts. The Anglo volunteer worker's reaction to this "irrational choice" of the Mexican-American further illustrates the intense minority stereotypes of "an ignorant, ungrateful people who cannot accept assistance graciously." It was concluded that the manner in which the aid was extended and the social relationships extant between the giver and receiver were a more critical factor in accepting relief than the quality or quantity of the goods and services offered by the Anglo relief organization. (Stoddard, 1969c) Clearly, the cultural differences in regard to disaster relief and aid disbursement must be understood to gain the ultimate objectives of the relief agency concerned. The same instance of human misery is differently defined, systematically handled and differentially evaluated within the milieu on each side of the border. Comparative studies isolate the differences and similarities in the structures and processes involved.

Law Enforcement

A cross-national comparison of legal enforcement systems in Mexico and the U.S. reveals wide structural-functional divergences between

the two.[15] Ir. the U.S., law enforcement is articulated through a bureaucratic structure not only at the national but also at state and local governmental levels as well. Appointments of law officers to service is legitimized through some competitive form of civil service qualifying examinations or its equivalent. In contrast, the Mexican law enforcement agencies are a highly centralized political system and are simply an extension of the personal political leaders currently in power with personal loyalty being the sole criterion of appointment to service. It is simply a "spoils" system. The vertical coordination of the three governmental levels in the U.S. is done through traditional integrative techniques such as the doctrine of "dual citizenship" enforced and implemented through federal and appellate courts. Voluntary municipal-county or multi-state agreements are ratified and the specific liaison machinery inaugurated to coordinate these activities is not usually removed by a new incoming political party. By contrast, in Mexico the federal, state and local enforcement structures, procedures and officials are almost completely insulated from each other except for the strong personal loyalties at the apex of each of these power structures. It is not unusual for the local "boss" to be indebted to the State political administration for the proper governmental support which brought him to office in the first place. Thus, while the U.S. legal coordination is done through the <u>systematic procedures</u> of the system, the Mexican coordination is done through the <u>individuals themselves</u> who run each of the systems.

This dissimilarity in the type of social structures responsible for legal enforcement on each side of the national border presents extremely serious problems in coordinating activities and pooling resources to prevent "sanctuaries" for lawbreakers to "raid" the foreign neighbor. After repeated failures at achieving formal

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[15]Information upon which this comparison is based was originally gathered for confidential research proposal entitled "An Investigation of Legal Enforcement Problems and Prosecution Procedures on the U.S.-Mexican Border." However, this particularistic-universalistic value differential was empirically validated within an educational setting by Nall (1962).

coordination between the U.S. bureaucratic structure and the highly personalized, non-standardized procedures of the Mexican system, effective cooperation was attained through personal friendship ties and informal loyalties between specific enforcement officials from each country. To illustrate this liaison difficulty we might consider the greatest single Border violation of the legal codes--car theft. The formal channel to handle international car thefts is an antiquated Senatorial agreement with the Republic of Mexico signed in the mid 1930's. The practical approach of handling these modern problems forces the abandonment of such archaic structures and the implementation of workable coordinative efforts between the lower echelons of enforcement officials where the actual problem must be resolved. The greatest problem emerging from this informal means of resolving legal violations is that after an election installing a new Mexican político (and his friends and kinfolk are given positions as law enforcement officers) those informal working arrangements between U.S. law officers and Mexican officials of the previous regime are lost and new friendships and agreements must be cultivated for future liaison. With the low wages inherent within the spoils system appointments, access to a power position of legal enforcement is a means to exchange personal favors of "expediting the red tape" in return for some "voluntary" remuneration (mordida) which forces a direct undermining of the universalistic orientation necessary for future civil service type operation. Likewise, the U.S. officers are forced to obtain "informal petty-cash" financial sources to effectively reimburse cooperating Mexican officers for their trouble. Since it cannot be traced nor accounted for, it tends to strain the U.S. system of checks and balances if carried to extremes. Funds so expended must be "overlooked" as a matter of standard operating procedure for continued articulation with the Mexican system to be maintained.

Although some of the border labor problems are treated by Cárdenas in the subsequent paper, the quasi-legal procedures involving commuter labor develops into a legal enforcement problem. An informal "winking" at the legal statutes regarding "Juárez maids" in the United States is such a case in point. Formally, the Immigration and Naturalization

Service (INS) of the Department of Justice has legal statutes regarding permanent immigrants, policies controlling commuting workers (Green card holders) and short term visitor permits (Blue card holders).[16] INS official denial that illegal "blue card" holders are working in El Paso is released simultaneously with published accounts that the INS picks up an average of nearly 300 "illegal maids" per month and rescinds their blue cards.[17] Unofficially, the INS estimates the number of illegal workers in El Paso as about 15,000 average during the year.[18] There is a demand for inexpensive domestics among the El Paso homemakers and even the low earnings of a maid are often the

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[16]"Blue Cards" are issued to Mexican citizens by the INS for a seventy-two hour trip into the United States for business or pleasure, not for work. Travel is restricted to one hundred and fifty miles. "Green Cards" are issued to an alien who intends to reside in the U.S. but who does not have the necessary papers to obtain permanent citizenship. Technically, this does not provide the basis for residence in and commuting daily from Mexico to work in the U.S. Moreover, since 1965 "green cards" have been issued legally to persons employed in job categories not in direct competition with U.S. citizens such as domestic and day laborer employment.

[17]Although local INS officials maintain a verbal "hard line" regarding their efforts to uphold the legal statutes controlling Mexican immigration and commuters who work in the United States, the lesser officials who must informally deal with the pressures of "local interpretation" of the law readily admit that their working policies violate only the "letter of the law", but are in full accord with the "spirit of the law" according to local conditions.

One high ranking INS official interviewed blantantly claimed that "there are no illegal maids in El Paso". Yet during this same period a local newspaper account gave the 300 returnees per month figure. "Wholesale Border Card Lifting Denied by INS," El Paso Times, September 30, 1967.

[18]Personal interview with officials at an International Border Crossing, April 14, 1968. This is substantiated by a published account of Mr. Richard Haberstroh, INS District Director before the Select Committee hearings in El Paso in which he suggested that the "shoppers card" (blue card) is issued in Juárez at the rate of 2500-3000 per month and with 75,000 such cards outstanding there are "several thousand" violaters of the non-work provisions of the blue card. George Kinsinger, "Opposing Views Heard on Aliens," El Paso Times, January 27, 1968.

The similarity of "Green Card" usage and its impact on the U.S. border economy in the Tijuana-San Diego area is reflected in the account by Price (1968b).

only income of a squatter family in the Cd. Juárez colonias, so it is economically advantageous for both parties. A small survey of maids in a five block tract of northeast El Paso revealed that in 38 homes answering the door, seven maids were encountered of which five were illegally in the U.S., one had legal papers, and the legality of one was questionable.[19] This is corroborated by unofficial estimates from border workers and officials who cannot issue formal statements to support these data. It appears that strict legal interpretations of regulations along the Border are bypassed for the functional informal agreements which have underscored these systems for centuries.

In early 1968, a select committee on Western Hemisphere Immigration met in El Paso to sound out opinion regarding a Senate bill proposing restrictions on the flow of alien commuters. This hearing overlooked the local informal handling of Border problems and mostly recorded official responses to the present formal statutes (which are rarely used to handle border problems). They likewise overlooked the fact that the commuter problems to which they were directing their attention could be legally enforced under existing statutes if local folkways were commensurate with the statutes. Legislation from Washington, D.C. and México, D.F., does not appear to form an effective basis for workable social, economic and political intercourse across the arbitrary national boundary. Formal proclamations seem to be functional only as protocol rituals for superficial pledges of mutual help and understanding while the real procedures are worked out through the informal systems.

The Border area problem of prostitution must likewise be controlled and regulated through informal agreements. Such delicate matters with their potential economic and political repercussions must be discounted in formal declarations but controlled through informal,

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[19] Conducted by M.G. Baker, Graduate Student at the University of Texas at El Paso, March-April, 1968.

unofficial working arrangements.[20] In the U.S. prostitution regulation is linked with the moral desires of middle class functionaries to control all extra-marital sexual promiscuity, particularly among the lower class. This is accomplished through the quarantine powers of health officials for venereal disease irradication. These quarantine powers are sometimes delegated by health officials to law enforcement officers as well. The more affluent members of the society are thus immune from quarantine procedures inasmuch as their venereal disease problems are handled through consultation with a private physician. Juárez prostitution is provided primarily for U.S. patrons, particularly tourists and military personnel, and represents a major source of public income.

In the early 1950's a notable change regarding the income from prostitution in Juárez occurred. Whereas prior to that time this illicit income went into the private bank accounts of influential individuals, it is now diverted into official government coffers for expenditures relating to the public good.

Prostitution in the city of Juárez was outlawed following World War II but the demand for sexual diversion by American clients increased the number of illegal, non-regulated operations causing the venereal disease rate to skyrocket on both sides of the border, especially among military personnel stationed in El Paso. A pragmatic approach to this problem was an informal arrangement between political, military, health and law enforcement representatives of both sides who could never admit such arrangements in a formal statement of official policy. Meticulous V.D. controls after each sexual contact and routine testing of prostitutes was instigated. This was actually "planned prostitution" operating on a non-official basis but with informal support of all

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[20]The manner of handling prostitution is based upon the excellent data of Christian (1961) and anonymous informants. Due to political implications of such materials, many generalizations have purposely been left with only vague references as to time, location or personalities involved.

parties concerned. Only in this way could regulations be imposed to reduce V.D. inasmuch as legal proclamations had no effect upon the sexual patterns of prostitution. In contrast, Guerrero, (1968) reports that prostitution in Tijuana has never had a proscribed efficient medical inspection system as that required in Juárez, although weekly medical inspections are conducted on 1,200 women reporting at the public health clinics. However, the greater diversity of clientele in the Tijuana region did not provide the strict sanctioning power held by the military officials in El Paso, and the proscriptions for clients and prostitutes have never been as rigidly defined. Price (1869b:22) claims that of 1,000 practicing prostitutes in Tijuana, 700 had exclusively Mexican clientele, and the rest had either mixed or exclusively foreign clientele. It is apparent that prostitution affects the economic and hygienic status of both sides of the border and that it patterns itself differently depending upon the social structure and the cultural milieu.

Dope addicts who use Juárez as their supply point are frequently the object of vehement official pronouncements by Mexican officials. However, informally the 200 known U.S. dope addicts residing in El Paso peaceably cross the international bridges several times daily or weekly, signing an addict roster before entering Mexico and signing in upon returning after having satisfied their appetite.[21] In this way, some local control of dope suppliers and pushers can be gained by identification and periodic checking of the known addicts. However, the recent nationwide concerns with narcotic addiction and drug supplies from Mexico ports and U.S. programs to eliminate this drug traffic have had local repercussions far beyond those designed in Washington, D.C. These cannot be treated extensively here, but suffice to say that "Operation Intercept" as an economic sanction to force Mexico to internally control marijuana production and drug supply, had local latent consequences of national face-saving for Mexico in "Operación Dignidad"

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[21]From personal interviews with local officials of the El Paso Police Department, November, 1967.

(do not trade or give services to the U.S.) and in firing up old smoldering resentments against unilateral declarations of inferred U.S. moral superiority. Some of these same ends are gained through informal means without the caustic side effects of the aforementioned governmental edict. For example, in 1967, due to the lack of restrictions on narcotic sales to minor U.S. citizens in Tijuana, the City of San Diego imposed an "extra-legal" border restraint upon unescorted minors at the city limits bordering on the Tijuana access.[22] Although its technical legality was somewhat questionable, local sentiment provided a clear mandate for taking such action. Such local modifications and usage of "extra-legal" procedures provides a traditionally acceptable means of handling a problem not enforceable through the formal statutes extant. In the various realms of law enforcement problems along the Border, it appears that maximum regulation and control occurs through the unofficial arrangements corresponding to existing Border folkways rather than through the formal official channels which reflect the legal statutes set up to regulate them. When official formal restraints are enforced, the smooth informal operation is disrupted and latent hostilities are again manifest.

Law enforcement and differential ethnic treatment of offenders is another comparative study which offers a great deal of promise for instigating corrective measures and more equitable procedures. A well researched study by Koeninger (1968) tested the "color blind" aspect of disposition of criminal rapist cases in the state of Texas. Examining the cases of all convicted rapists in Texas courts from 1924-1967, it was determined that Mexican-Americans have shorter sentences, draw fewer death sentences, and have more jail sentences commuted than either the Negro or the Anglo offender convicted of this crime. Could this be the result of the traditional condescending attitude toward this "dependent" minority which has so effectively undermined their ethnic pride? Their persecution of Negro rapists, the punishment of Anglos who know better, and the leniency of the childlike

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[22]A personal interview with an El Paso Police official, December, 1967, with personal knowledge of the San Diego campaign.

Mexican-Americans appear to follow the stereotypes attributable to each group by the dominant society. This hazardous extrapolation of the conclusions is extremely tentative and would require much more serious study than has been possible for inclusion at this time, but its implications reveal much concerning the difficulties involved with law enforcement problems and ethnic life styles in the borderland region.

Self-Identity Studies

Self-identity studies require the analysis of subjective[23] attitude responses from individuals as a predictable guide to patterns of behavior. Very few Border cross-national studies of this kind are familiar to this writer, but the many studies done of the Border people (the Mexican Americans) can raise some of the questions of greatest promise for future Border research.

One cross-national comparison of student attitude and images from Northern Mexico and U.S. Universities was recently conducted by a team of psychologists and linguists. (Kelsey et al., 1966b, also 1968a) Their methodological problems of comparing the two institutions highlight the single greatest difficulty of cross-cultural research--finding cultural equivalents for social symbols of one society which are equal to those of another. For instance, attitude scales used for the U.S. students when converted literally to the Spanish language were somewhat meaningless. Common U.S. terminology such as "natural sciences" (logically translated to sciences naturales) has no literal meaning for the foreign students. Likewise, the distinct structure

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[23]The manner in which a group perceives itself, a subjective appraisal, is stressed here. However, there are other viewpoints to establish self-identity. The projective method analyzes the attitudes which are revealed by one group as it uses itself to measure other social groupings. An objective approach considers observations from trained observers operating from outside the group in question. (See Stoddard, 1969a)

of the Mexican University devoid of social activities, dormitory life, and athletic competition as compared to that of the U.S. Jniversity[24] produced a methodological nightmare in validating the measuring instruments themselves.

In the same sense, temporal eras differ in their perspectives, and the historical interpretation of terminology and symbolic meanings of behavior in past epochs without a thorough knowledge of the structural-functional variations extant at that time might well result in distortions of the original meanings. (See Stoddard, 1967: 26-30 especially) Even the terms we currently use which are commonplace to us within our own cultural milieu such as Freedom, Student, Communist, Christian, or American might differ in their usage from nation to nation and group to group.[25]

Scholars have coined a plethora of terms to make distinctions between the various sub-groups composing the Spanish-Speaking category: Spanish-Surnames, Latin American, Spanish Speaking, Mexican-American, Spanish-American, Tex-Mex, Chicano, and others (with or without hyphens). It is apparent that stereotyping them as a homogeneous group

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[24]The Mexican University is structured vertically by autonomous escuelas within the larger administrative structure of the University. Spanish for engineers is taught within the Engineer escuela. Spanish for medical doctors is taught within separate escuela. There is little differentiation between undergraduate and graduate level students.

On the other hand, the University in the United States is somewhat more integrated and course offerings are coordinated between the separate divisions or colleges, whereas the horizontal differentiation between lower division, upper division and graduate student level is more clearly articulated. See Kelsey, et al.,(1966b)

[25]As an American in Argentina (1947-49) I was reminded of my own national ethnocentrism. Referring to myself as an "American" I was forbidden exclusive use of that title inasmuch as Argentine nationals were also "Americans" in a very literal sense. Thereafter, I used the accepted moniker Norteamericano, equally a misnomer since it includes citizens of Mexico, Canada and the U.S.

is unscientific,[26] but the demands made by each scholar for the Universal usage of his particular term is frequently based upon familiarity with a rather limited number of sub-communities comprising the heterogeneous category of Border inhabitants.

Many normative attributes ascribed to the Mexican-American make distinct empirical studies <u>of</u> this group and <u>toward</u> this group very difficult. Less well known but as crucial are the deep-seated images and attitudes of Mexican-Americans toward Anglos. Both of these orientations are clarified by a study of mutual images and expectations of both Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans based on research by Simmons (1961) in a Lower Rio Grande community. Anglo-Americans assume that Mexican-Americans are their potential equals, but profess them to be currently inferior. Various unverifiable rationalizations are used (i.e., regard them all as unclean, drunken, sexually immoral, listless etc.) by the Anglo-Americans to perpetuate themselves in the superordinate position and to relegate the Mexican-American to a morally inferior status position. Such views of the minority group by the dominant Anglos makes the <u>status quo</u> palatable and just.

Stereotypes toward Anglos by Mexican-Americans are similarly unrealistic and inconsistent, being primarily defensive rather than for justification as in the case of the Anglos.[27] Anglos expect Mexican-

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[26]A recently completed book manuscript (Stoddard, 1970b) considers Mexican American identity in the light of available scientific research conclusions. There appears to be little consensus on a single term for this ethnic minority. Such a position was espoused more than three decades ago by Sánchez (1940) but the erroneous illusion of Mexican Americans as a single homogeneous group is still perpetuated by some popular writers and administrators.

[27]These same misperceptions are mirrored by professional scientists involved in inter-ethnic research. Some professionals contend that without extended physical involvement, hunger, and shared poverty, one can never know how the less fortunate <u>really</u> feel. While this may be true, the sharing of these experiences is no guarantee of an objective definition of these problems within the context of an ongoing world. Thus, the football player relies on the sideline coach for strategy, and both rely on the universalistic referee for procedures, rules and consequences of the game. (Footnote continued on next page.)

Americans to become "Anglicized" and to eventually compete with Anglos in the dominant social structure on an equalitarian basis, whereas most Mexican-Americans aspire to full equality and acceptance without giving up their traditional way of life; a type of cultural pluralism.

Parsons (1968) has brilliantly conceptualized the processes involved in changing an "in-group's" expectations. He suggests that the definition and position of the "out-group" including the patterns of behavior ascribed to it are prime criteria for the self-image of the "in-group" itself. Therefore, a reluctance to change a group's perception of another group might not be a desire to perpetuate injustice but rather a fear of the changes within the self-image of ones own group which would be caused by a radical shift in definition of "out-groups" in relationship to one's own "in-group".

The stereotype of the dozing Mexican taking his extended siesta is too well known to need documentation here. Currently many OEO and similar type programs are designed to raise the motivations of minority groups so that they will aspire to higher goals than those which the program leaders assume them to currently possess. Recent research in this level of motivation and aspiration reveals a sharp contrast to prevailing stereotypes of the non-aspiring Mexican-American. A study comparing the aspirations of Mexican-American youths with Anglo-American youths revealed no significant difference in motivational patterns. Mexican-American boys, for instance, not only had realistic goals of possible future attainment (occupationally these were lower prestige professional and blue collar skilled positions) but their

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(Continuation of footnote 27 from the preceding page.)
A few social scientists of Mexican-American descent implicitly support the popular stereotype that they alone can understand the minority group because of their membership in it. A similar defense of a privileged position was used by female midwives to avoid competition from male doctors. Expertise is the result of scientific training and precise use of research techniques, not a gift of the umbilical cord. Yet, that training gives no guarantee that such expertise will be used beyond contributing to the musty tomes of professional literature.

expectations of actually achieving these goals coincided very well. (Juárez and Kuvlesky, 1968) (However, Borup and Elliot, 1969, found that Mexican-American college students have higher aspirations than Anglo college students.) Mexican-American youth of the Rio Grande Valley had a stronger intensity in their desire to reach their goals than their Anglo cohorts, but were more uncertain than the Anglos in being able to attain their expected educational status. (Wright and Kuvlesky, 1968)

An intensive field study of Mexican American families residing in an urban enclave of El Paso, Texas (Stoddard, 1969b:486-87; 1970a) revealed a lack of consensus on appropriate terms for subjectively designating themselves as well as marked inter-generational differences between fathers and male sons on core values and criteria to be used in establishing a self-identity. The data concluded that the parents emphasized self-mastery and obedience as the most salient core values of their culture whereas their sons chose helping others and hard work as most important. Parents and sons agreed that the two most important indicators for self-identification were language and family name. It was not surprising that parents, remembering the fight for citizenship, ranked nationality high but their sons born with U.S. citizenship thought it unimportant. Sons emphasized skin color very high while parents ignored this criterion. Neither group thought that religion was crucial to self-identification. Significantly, both groups felt that Anglo-Americans use the same criteria for identifying them as they use to identify themselves. If this intergenerational disparity of core values and self-identity persists, past research on Mexican-Americans must be up-dated to maintain validity.

In summary, various types of comparative studies have been perused to illustrate their utility in generating questions and providing concepts for further research for an increasingly better comprehension of borderland cultures. The traditional dominant-subordinate status of Anglo-Americans vs Mexican-Americans has been

noted with a current trend by the subordinate minority to substitute this for a more equalitarian relationship. In a realistic sense the Mexican-American minority is faced with two broad strategies to change its present disadvantaged position. One is that to gain equality in a dominant Anglo culture they must learn the Anglo rules, language, and procedures, must master them, and thereby "beat the Anglo at his own game". The alternative is the militant cultural pluralist who advocates open rejection of the present society and non-involvement in it as it as now constituted. There is no easy solution of forcing the dominant culture to change its social structure to include this minority simply to benefit the latter. With the tradition of the dominant Anglo society, it appears that there must be a "trade" for such recognition whether it be to marshal enough potential power within that system to force the larger society to give them entry, or to cause the larger society to examine its potential loss should it decide to disregard the disruptive and destructive capabilities of an organized minority. With the former alternative there is a greater hope of maintaining the social and economic resources which could provide the basis for change and development whereas the latter may lead to total equality by reducing the system to ashes and dividing the remaining debris equally among those who survive. However, in the absence of some well planned bilateral action, there may be no alternative but disruption and open hostility against the "establishment". Illustrating this point, a cabinet level meeting of leading authorities on Mexican-American relations was held in San Antonio, Texas. Since no Mexican-Americans of the poverty class or those directly working with them were formally invited, six Mexican-Americans from El Paso representing the Mexican-American people themselves paid their own way to attend and address that conference uninvited. One of them proclaimed that while more and more scientific papers were being presented, reproduced, published and distributed, his children and those of his neighbors were still ill-clothed, ill-fed, poorly educated and without a stable income earner in the family. "I have no intention of letting you walk out of here satisfied," he declared, and in the language of his forefathers declared further:

> Most of us are immigrants to this nation--be it first or third generation. We decided to abandon our former nation to better ourselves because of the lack of opportunity there. We came to this country which professes to be rich with opportunity. My forefathers and I have not yet encountered it. Perhaps..mañana.[28]

Comparative studies are only the first step to establish the values and social structures extant in each national or ethnic group. These may then be used as a basis for building bridges between them--for channeling opportunities for self betterment to our Mexican neighbors and to our Mexican-American citizens. But our solution will be no better than our skill to define the problem correctly. And our intellectual deliberations will be of no pragmatic utility unless they can be adapted for actual use within concrete programs to provide these opportunities, not mañana but today. Mañana may be too late...for us all!

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[28]Remarks given by Abelardo Delgado in San Antonio, Texas, April, 1967.

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TRENDS AND PROBLEMS OF URBANIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES-MEXICO BORDER AREA*

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TRENDS AND PROBLEMS OF URBANIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES-MEXICO BORDER AREA

Urbanization can be defined as the increasing concentration of a country's or region's population in towns and cities. Of recent origin in Latin America the phenomenon of urbanization began to show itself during the third decade of this century. It has become an effect and cause of social change related to the modernization process in many nations throughout the world. At present, Brazil and Mexico are examples of countries close to the midpoint of transformation from predominantly rural to predominantly urban nations. Much of the urban population growth is from rural to urban migration, although there tends to be a variation in the volume of movement within countries according to regions. The pattern of internal migration is often linked to the pattern of economic development. Our purpose here is to identify Latin American trends and problems of urbanization as they relate to the United States-Mexico Border area.

In general, Latin America today is the fastest growing population area in the world. During the 1950's Latin American population growth was 2,7%, a higher rate than that of Africa (2.1%), Asia (2.0%), North America (1.8%), the Soviet Union (1.7%), or Europe (0.8%).(Chase Manhattan Bank, 1963:4). With a population of approximately 163 million in 1950 it has been estimated that the number will reach 300 million by 1975, and that this figure might double by the year 2,000.(Chase Manhattan Bank, 1964a:3)

Of major significance to Latin American population growth is the pronatalistic attitudes prevalent to this world region. For example, as former Argentine ambassador is quoted as saying that "...the next century will see more than five hundred million Latin Americans living prosperously in order to fulfill the historic destiny that God has willed us"; a Brazilian Minister of Health stated"...in under-developed countries such as Brazil, where 50 per cent of the energy utilitized in production is muscular in nature,

population size constitutes a real element of power which is the most important means of national progress. Therefore, anything which increases population growth is beneficial for us."(Stycos, 1965:12-13) Meanwhile, the Mexican nationalistic position is reflected in the following:

> Mexico was once weak, divided and helpless; her people were dominated by alien conquerors, and she was underpopulated; her lands were taken by foreign invaders. But Mexico is growing. There is strength in numbers. True, numbers bring problems, but we are forging these numbers into a great nation. (Stycos, 1965:14)

There is, then, the tendency in Latin America to equate population size with national power, prestige and dynamism. We can expect present population patterns in Latin America to continue for some years in the future thereby multiplying the intensity of social pressures and demands. Contributing factors to this growth are (1) the fact that the Latin American population is young (39-43% of the population of Central and South America is below age 15 as compared to 31% for the United States and 23% for the United Kingdom) (Chase Manhattan Bank, 1964b:7) and thus prone to a greater rate of procreation, and (2) that death rates in Latin America have decreased from 30 to 15 per thousand persons due to advanced medical technology. Since birth rates have remained at about 40-45 per thousand, this means that in general three persons are born for every one that dies.(Chase Manhattan Bank, 1964b:4).

However, surpassing the trend of a burgeoning population in Latin America is the rate of urban growth (See Table 1). In each Latin American country the rate of urban growth exceeds that of total population growth. This is due in part to the natural increase of people already in urban areas, but to a greater extent it is the result of vast numbers of people flowing into urban centers from rural areas. A principal attraction of the city is that urban life typifies all that is progressive and "civilized"; incomes tend to be higher in the city than in the rural areas; and the rural dweller looks to the urban centers for leadership in economic and social improvement.

Table 1

URBAN POPULATION IN LATIN AMERICA IS GROWING FASTER THAN TOTAL POPULATION

	Population Growth (%)	Urban Growth (%)
Mexico	3.1	4.7
Guatemala	3.2	5.2
Honduras	3.0	7.1
El Salvador	3.6	4.8
Nicaragua	3.5	6.1
Costa Rica	4.3	6.0
Panama	3.3	3.8
Cuba	2.0	3.3
Haiti	2.2	7.3
Dominican Republic	3.6	5.8
Colombia	2.2	5.4
Venezuela	3.4	5.8
Ecuador	3.2	5.2
Peru	2.0	4.0
Bolivia	1.4	3.1
Chile	2.3	3.6
Paraguay	2.4	3.8
Argentina	1.6	2.8
Uruguay	1.4	1.7
Brazil	3.4	4.2
Total - Latin America	2.7	4.0

Source: (Chase Manhattan Bank, 1964:5)

It is suggested that if farm life were made more tolerable and rewarding, migration to the cities would diminish and with it urban problems associated with rapid population influx. However, Mexico's cities have continued to grow at a rapid rate, in spite of 40 years of vigorous land reform during which millions of acres have been turned over to landless peasants. Between 1951 and 1960, the population of Mexico City itself grew by 58%, and that of fifty-four other urban centers by 78%. The city, notwithstanding its frequently appalling conditions, holds an irresistible attraction, especially for the young. (Haar, 1963:540-541)

A rapid population growth coupled with an even higher rate of urbanization gives rise to many problems calling for the modification or innovation of public policy. Three principal areas of concern are housing, public services, and employment. The imagination and flexibility of administrative mechanisms are taxed for solutions. The Banco de México estimated that in 1960 approximately 84% of Mexican families lived in one or two room housing units. The housing shortage that year was estimated at one million units not counting replacement requirements. It was estimated that there was a cumulative shortage of 100,000 homes per year. In 1960 it was reported that only 35% of Mexico's population had adequate water facilities while 16% had rudimentary service. The remainder of the population (49%), for all practical purposes, lacked such services. (I.A.D.B., 1963:217-218)

Between 1950 and 1960, the population growth for Mexico as a nation was 34%. (Mexico, 1961:12) Mexico City, the urban center of the nation as well its political, economic, and cultural capital, had a population growth of 210% during the two decade period of 1940-1959. (Cline, 1963:104) Among other implications, this reflects the City's importance as the chief industrial complex for the nation. Thus, it holds an economic attraction for a large number of migrants from other regions. These migrants are generally unskilled, low-paid

laborers who have difficulty in finding steady employment. Commerce and industry, already saturated with them, find it difficult to further absorb this type of worker. As a result, a great deal of "hidden unemployment is prevalent among the migrant groups many of whom are forced to work only part time at marginal tasks." (Cline, 1963:105)

Other than Mexico City and environs, the region recording the highest rate of population growth in Mexico is the northern tier of states bordering the United States, especially the urban centers next to the border itself. While the 1950-1960 national population growth for Mexico was 34%, nine Mexican municipalities bordering the United States recorded an average population increase of 83% as seen in Table 2. Lacking the political, economic and cultural importance of Mexico City, and limited industrialization, the principal attraction of the border municipalities to the migrant from the interior may be the common border with the United States and the real or imagined economic improvement that it offers. From an overall statistical view, this economic advantage in border urban areas is a reality. In monetary terms we find that the national per capita income for 1959 was 3,270 pesos (Cline, 1963:104) while a much higher per capita income is found in the nine border municipalities for the 1959-1960 period. (See Table 3) In large measure, the higher income is due to a United States-oriented economy. For example, we find that annual commercial transactions of these nine municipalities with the United States (Table 4) are much larger than the annual commercial transactions of these municipalities with the rest of the Republic (Table 5). Furthermore, only one of the nine border municipalities, Ensenada, shows a deficit in its economic transactions with the United States. In other words, the municipality of Ensenada buys more from the United States than it sells in goods and services to that country (Table 6). On the other hand, considering the balance of trade between these same nine municipalities with the interior of Mexico, four of them--Tijuana, Nogales, Ciudad Juárez, and Matamoros--show a deficit. That is, they buy more from the interior of Mexico

Table 2

Population of Nine Mexican Border Municipalities

MUNICIPALITY	1950	1960	PER CENT OF GROWTH
Ensenada	31,000	66,049	113
Tijuana	65,290	166,498	115
Mexicali	124,338	277,275	123
Nogales	25,405	39,097	53
Cd. Juarez	130,903	308,932	136
P. Negras	31,750	46,040	45
N. Laredo	59,296	93,095	57
Reynosa	69,272	133,696	93
Matamoros	101,179	140,576	39

SOURCE: (Mexico, 1961:13)

Table 3

Annual Income in Nine Mexican Border Municipalities, 1959-1960

MUNICIPALITY	MILLIONS		PER CAPITA	
	Pesos	Dollars	Pesos	Dollars
Ensenada	520	41.6	7,788	623.04
Tijuana	2,025	162.0	12,271	981.08
Mexicali	2,350	188.0	8,482	678.56
Nogales	350	28.0	8,865	709.20
Cd. Juarez	2,320	185.0	7,532	602.56
P. Negras	280	22.4	5,570	445.60
N. Laredo	685	54.8	7,439	595.12
Reynosa	1,060	84.8	7,882	622.56
Matamoros	715	57.2	5,136	410.88

SOURCE: (Mexico, 1961:15)

Table 4

Annual Commercial Transactions of Nine Mexican Municipalities With the United States, 1959-1960

MUNICIPALITY	MILLIONS		PER CAPITA	
	Pesos	Dollars	Pesos	Dollars
Ensenada	546	43.68	8,257	660.56
Tijuana	2,177	174.16	13,069	1,045.52
Mexicali	2,065	165.20	7,447	595.76
Nogales	355	28.40	8,940	715.20
Cd. Juarez	2,098	167.84	6,782	542.56
P. Negras	232	18.56	5,048	403.84
N. Laredo	513	41.04	5,499	439.72
Reynosa	679	54.32	5,073	405.84
Matamoros	911	72.88	6,535	522.80

SOURCE: (Mexico, 1961:18)

Table 5

Annual Commercial Transactions of Nine Mexican Border Municipalities With the Rest of the Republic, 1959-1960

MUNICIPALITY	MILLIONS		PER CAPITA	
	Pesos	Dollars	Pesos	Dollars
Ensenada	340	27.20	5,142	411.36
Tijuana	456	36.48	2,738	219.04
Mexicali	926	74.08	3,339	267.12
Nogales	238	19.04	5,994	479.52
Cd. Juarez	830	66.40	2,683	214.64
P. Negras	361	28.88	7,856	628.48
N. Laredo	643	51.44	6,892	551.36
Reynosa	726	58.08	5,424	433.92
Matamoros	413	33.04	2,963	237.04

SOURCE: (Mexico, 1961:16)

Table 6

Annual Commercial Transactions of Nine Mexican Municipalities With the United States, 1959-1960 (In Millions)

MUNICIPALITY	SALES		PURCHASES		DEFICIT		SURPLUS	
	Pesos	Dollars	Pesos	Dollars	Pesos	Dollars	Pesos	Dollars
Ensenada	238	19.04	308	24.64	70	5.60		
Tijuana	1,408	112.64	769	61.52			639	51.12
Mexicali	1,183	94.64	882	70.56			301	24.08
Nogales	218	17.44	137	10.96			81	6.48
Cd. Juarez	1,419	113.52	679	54.32			740	59.20
P. Negras	116	9.28	116	9.28				
N. Laredo	282	22.56	231	18.48			51	4.08
Reynosa	397	31.76	282	22.56			115	9.20
Matamoros	540	43.20	371	29.68			169	13.52

SOURCE: (Mexico, 1961:19)

Table 7

Annual Commercial Transactions of Nine Mexican Border Municipalities With the Rest of the Republic, 1959-1960 (In Millions)

MUNICIPALITY	SALES		PURCHASES		DEFICIT		SURPLUS	
	Pesos	Dollars	Pesos	Dollars	Pesos	Dollars	Pesos	Dollars
Ensenada	227	18.16	113	9.04			114	9.12
Tijuana	58	4.04	398	31.84	340	27.20		
Mexicali	554	44.32	372	29.76			182	14.56
Nogales	87	6.96	151	12.08	64	5.12		
Cd. Juarez	187	14.96	643	51.44	456	36.48		
P. Negras	190	15.20	171	13.68			19	1.52
N. Laredo	342	27.36	301	24.08			41	3.28
Reynosa	451	36.08	275	22.00			176	14.08
Matamoros	184	14.72	229	18.32	45	3.60		

SOURCE: (Mexico, 1961:17)

than they sell to that region (Table 7). This reflects the economic dependence that the border municipalities have on the free flow of international trade and services between Mexico and the United States rather than having their predominant economic liaison within their own country.

The border municipalities enjoy other special privileges as a consequence of their unique location which are not shared by interior Mexican municipalities. The geographical proximity to the United States brings a cultural exposure. This exposure makes them aware of a higher standard of living, generates rising expectations, motivates progressive enterprises, promotes opportunities for personal involvement and attracts inhabitants from the less favored areas. These in turn result in opportunities or problems somewhat peculiar to border contact which are not experienced by residents of municipalities in the interior.

A growing urbanized border community undergoes an exaggerated, continuous battle to keep pace with population and housing expansion with corresponding public services. A working plan for development and controlled expansion is a partial solution to these problems but is conspicuous by its absence or inadequacy in these border municipalities. Although many of these communities make some provision for future development, these are seldom of a scale required to adapt to such abnormal growth patterns. As a result, the rapid influx of migrants rapidly becomes disorganized settlements of squatters on privately-owned lands in the fringe suburban areas. Because these colonias spring up almost overnight and the flood of people seem to literally fall from the sky, these new migrants are called paracaidistas (parachutists). Seeking shelter, they make immediate plans for some type of home for themselves and their families.

The types of dwellings erected by paracaidistas or squatters vary in construction. Some may be lean-tos made from scrap lumber or tin. Eventually they take the form of houses made from adobe or mud bricks. But the permanent character of these buildings, differences

in quality, and their random distribution promise future problems in the economical provision of services such as electricity, drinking water, and paved streets, as well as in the enforcement of zoning and building codes.

Charles Abrams (1965:21) has described the characteristics of housing common to the new city migrant throughout the world. These tend to vary according to local conditions and house-building skills and customs. But the pattern of settlement by squatters tends to be the same. In keeping with his description, squatters in the border urban areas may be classified as follows.

1. The owner squatter owns his shack but not the land. He tends to build on any vacant plot or land area that he can find. Most commonly affected are public lands and those of absentee owners.

2. The squatter tenant, while not owning or building a shack, pays rent to another squatter.

3. The squatter holdover is a former tenant who no longer pays rent but whose landlord fears or is unable to evict him.

4. The squatter landlord has rooms or huts to rent.

5. The speculator squatter considers squatting a business venture. He expects the owner of the land to eventually pay him to leave.

6. The store squatter, or the occupational squatter, establishes his business on land not his own. He thus avoids paying rent or taxes.

7. The semi-squatter is one who having built his dwelling on private land eventually reaches an agreement with the landowner.

Many of these squatter settlements present an almost insoluble legal entanglement when the private owner seeks to recover his land. When at length the legal problems of ownership are resolved, the problem then becomes one of extending public services to these areas.

There is an immediate demand for sanitation, sewage services, pure water supply, schools, recreation areas, hospitals, paved streets, increased police and fire protection, urban transportation, traffic

regulation, market places and so on. These pressures become overpowering when the governmental structure is not flexible enough to fill these requests for assistance. As a result there is a plethora of nameless streets, unmarked homes, beggars and eventually crime and disorganization. Other numerous problems associated with rapid and random community growth are then spawned to complement those problems already present. However, not all of the results of growth and activity within the border municipalities are negative. This location also has positive advantages which may be exploited.

Lacking the industrialization characterizing the Mexico City area, the border municipalities must develop those industries for which they are most suited. For instance, they now control over 70% of the tourist dollar spent in Mexico. A service oriented economy designed to satisfy the foreign visitor readily lends itself to employment possibilities to persons with minimal skills. Souvenir shops, peddlers, restaurants, night clubs, car watchers, barber and beauty shop operators, gasoline stations, store clerks, and similar occupations do not require a great amount of formal training. On the other hand, there are other types of activities that sustain the tourist industry although of perhaps negative characteristics. Given less vigilant law enforcement officers and more liberal social legislation, prostitution and the sale of narcotics also draw adherents from the United States. Moreover, an excape valve for excess labor is found in the United States side of the border where large numbers of Mexican residents are legally and illegally employed. For example, approximately 15,000 persons cross daily from Ciudad Juárez to work in El Paso. With the exception of one of nine border municipalities noted in Table 8, local wage earners earn at least one-fifth and as much as one-third or more of their salaries in the United States.

One of the side effects of this labor reservoir on the Mexico side of the border has been the tendency to depress wages and salaries in the United States border cities. This has also been reflected in

Table 8

Per Cent of Wages Earned Abroad

MUNICIPALITY	PER CENT
Ensenada	None
Tijuana	33
Mexicali	21
Nogales	19
Cd. Juarez	36
P. Negras	23
N. Laredo	31
Reynosa	22
Matamoros	30

SOURCE: (Mexico, 1961:21)

the higher distribution of United States Office of Economic Opportunity poverty funds in the borderland region. The relative lack of success for labor organizations along the border has also prompted organized labor in the United States to press for new U.S. public policy toward employment of Mexican residents in the United States. The "green card" controversy[1] is one facet of the problem. (AFL-CIO, 1965a:5) Recognizing the dependence of the border municipalities on income earned in the U.S. the Mexican Government officially is reported to oppose any closing of the U.S. border to Mexican resident labor. Nevertheless, the closing of the border to Mexican labor is slowly becoming a reality. In response to this, the Mexican Government has countered with the program designed to attract industrialization to the border area. The plan calls for manufacturing concerns to locate in Mexico, to import free from duties the raw materials required, and then the freedom to export the finished product without having to pay corresponding export taxes. Furthermore, the machinery

[1]For a more detailed examination of the immigration laws, commuter labor and the "informal use" of "green card" visas, see pp. 19-21 of the Stoddard essay in this volume.

needed to process the raw materials may also be imported tax free. (Mexico, 1967:3) More than sixty-four United States plants have moved across the border employing over 15,000 workers. (AFL-CIO, 1968b:7; New York Times, 1969a)

Operation Intercept, a U.S. sponsored program designed to reduce the volume of narcotics, marijuana and dangerous drugs smuggled into the United States from Mexico, helped to dramatize the interdependence of urban areas along the U.S.-Mexico border (New York Times, 1969b). The meticulous inspection of persons and vehicles crossing to the United States from Mexico occasioned the backing up of traffic as much as six miles into Mexico. During the course of the program the flow of Mexican workers on single shifts work visas was delayed, a high degree of absenteeism of "green card" workers was inevitable, and thousands of Mexican workers lost their jobs in the United States on this account. Furthermore, the decline of commerce and tourism occasioned the laying off of additional workers in Mexican border cities. (New York Times, 1969c) In the absence of reliable records, it can only be surmised that a number of working mothers in U.S. border cities were unable to meet their obligations without maids at home, and that U.S. firms established in Mexican border cities experienced delays in production, sales and delivery schedules. It took a retaliatory Operation Dignity, designed by Mexicans to limit their employment and shopping in the United States, and high level international conferences for Operation Intercept to be phased out.[2]

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[2] A monthly bulletin reporting economic activity in El Paso, made the following conjectures regarding the impact of Operation Intercept/Operation Dignity on the U.S. side.

> November's economic activity.../saw/ a leveling off of the expansion that took place in the prior months. The Business Activity Index
>
> was six percent below that expected when compared to October... The decline may be, in part, the result of the impact of Operation Intercept, delayed in its reflection on the data. (Dillman, 1970:4)

It is understood that certain types of businesses whose clientele are principally from Cd. Juárez suffered up to half their normal business during that same period.

In conclusion we can summarize the trends and problems of urbanization on the U.S.-Mexico border as follows.

1. The geographic location close to the United States attracts great numbers of people from the interior of Mexico to the border municipalities. This is a continuing process.

2. The three principal problem areas which face governmental administration are housing, public services, and employment.

3. The squatters, who arbitrarily take land and build, in many cases provide a solution to the housing problem which the government would be unable to provide. The role of the government then becomes one of trying to legalize the land holdings for the squatters.

4. Local government in Mexico is unable to satisfy the need for public services. As a result, the federal government takes the lead in providing solutions to border social and economic problems. Local governmental efforts tend to be undermined by the numerous federal admininstrative boards and programs for the border.

5. The United States border cities have long served as an escape valve for excess Mexican labor, however, there is a tendency to limit this source of labor. In order to meet this problem, the Mexican Government is attracting United States industry to locate in Mexico under certain favorable conditions.

6. Given the interdependence of the border cities, conflicts on either side can assume international importance. But whatever the larger ramifications, the problems of either side become the shared problem of the other.

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